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efforts. It will be a surprise to me if his "United" party attains in ten years the proportions, vigor, and results reached by the Greenback Labor party in 1878, when it polled 1,400,000 votes, elected twenty Congressmen (about five of whom betrayed their trust), and frightened their enemies into many beneficent measures. Where Mr. George gets his data for saying "The United Labor Party of New York is the strongest organization on the new lines," is a puzzle. He characterizes "what is known as the Union Labor Party" as composed of "self-appointed representatives of all sorts of opinions and crotchets," and as "one of those attempts to manufacture a political party which are foredoomed to failure. Sooner or later its components must fall on one side or the other of the issue raised by the more definite [George] movement. On which side the majority of them will fall there can be little doubt."

I have given reasons for the opposite view. Time will decide.

(5) CO-OPERATIVE AND STATE SOCIALISTS.—The Co-operative Socialists, or Associationists, who flourished so greatly under Horace Greeley's favor forty years ago, are again becoming a power in the land. Millions of people have an idea that co-operation is the grand panacea. All of this view may be counted as upon the side of the producers in a political movement.

Three of the extremely socialistic organizations of this country are disposed to amalgamate for political action. They are "The Socialistic Labor Party" or "Social Democrats," "The International Workingmen's Association" or "Reds," strong in the Western States, and the "Blacks" or "Anarchists." The Chicago groups, anticipating the present action, disbanded, leaving the members free to join whatever body they may incline to. These societies are exotics in this country. They are composed mainly of foreign-born citizens, who have come here, for the most part, honestly impressed with the idea that they have panaceas for human ills.

They have made so much more noise than the other and milder Socialists of late, that most people have forgotten that the latter exist. Even Christian Socialists in America, England, and Germany, hide their lights in dismay when they observe what a racket the others are making, and find the name Socialist becoming synonymous with all that is vile and bloody.

The fact is that there are at least twenty kinds of Socialists. Every one, from the non-resistant Shaker to the bloodiest Anarchist and Nihilist, who starts out to reform social abuses—to establish real sociability or friendliness among human creatures—is entitled to the name.

All such may certainly be counted as arrayed against non-producers.

(6) UNCLASSIFIABLE "KICKERS."—A large mass of dissatisfied men, some of them wealthy, who have grievances that the old parties do not remove, may be counted upon to join any tolerably consistent new "producers" party. Independents, Mugwumps, Prohibitionists, Anti-monopolists, Greenbackers, middle-class people who think that the outlook is for the rich to grow richer and the poor poorer.

SAMUEL LEAVITT.

III.

AN AMERICAN PENAL COLONY.

REGARDED from the economic standpoint our system of prison administration yields very unsatisfactory results. The prisoners cannot be rendered self-supporting, and every attempt to lighten the burden of costs only results in its unequal distribution.

As regards the reformatory tendency of prison discipline, it may be laid down

as a sound axiom, that every form of slavery is degrading, and that prison slavery, with its isolation of the sexes, is infinitely more degrading than domestic slavery.

The one admissible argument for the maintenance of the system is necessity : we would gladly reform the criminal classes if the possibility of doing so were recognized, but having no hope of its accomplishment, the next best course is to incarcerate them. We do this in self-defense, and cannot be held responsible for such evils as follow.

But the problem of protecting society from the criminal classes, and at the same time rendering the criminals industrious, orderly and law-abiding, appears to me not wholly hopeless of solution.

The great body of criminals have the same desires and appetites as the industrial classes, quite as much energy in the pursuit of the means for their gratification, and although some of them are very low in the scale of intelligence, it is doubtful if the majority of them are below the average of the working masses.

We may, I think, assume that the criminal classes, as a whole, have all the faculties necessary to their self-support as an industrial community ; the one thing necessary is to direct the exercise of those faculties into right channels.

To do this we must appeal to the mainspring of human actions—self-interest : the prisoners must be placed amid surroundings in which they will recognize, beyond all doubt, that labor is the indispensable condition of their continued existence ; the one means by which they can hope to gratify their needs and desires.

Their isolation is both indispensable to the protection of society and necessary to their own reformation. As a body they constitute only a small minority of society, and cannot be turned loose on it without realizing the possibility of preying on it as of old ; even if there were no disposition to do so, the liberated criminal generally finds the industrial ranks closed to him. But removed in a body to a reservation, fairly rich in natural resources, with full permission to turn them to the best account—a reservation from which there should be no hope of escape—necessity would drive them to industrial pursuits for an existence. There would be no accumulated wealth to prey on.

To render the criminal industrious, it is necessary to set him free, face to face with nature, under conditions which render it possible for him to gratify his needs by honest labor and by no other means ; to render him law-abiding it is necessary that he have a personal interest in the enforcement of the laws ; to lift him up, and give him self-respect, it will be necessary to give him a share in framing the laws.

Alaska is a possession admirably calculated for carrying out these suggestions : escape from it would be difficult ; it has abundant natural resources, of which the products of the fisheries and the mines could be immediately utilized with but small capital, and I am of opinion that if our whole criminal population were drafted there under a well-considered plan of colonization, the hope of a new life would dawn upon them ; and that, allured by hope on one hand, and driven by necessity on the other, the great majority would at once become industrial and range themselves on the side of law and order. But the scheme must be carried out liberally. The colonists must be treated as free men as long as they do not break bounds—free to marry, to acquire land, engage in commerce or productive industry, accumulate property, hold office, and enjoy a liberal share of self-government.

Self interest would prompt the great majority to range themselves on the side of law and order. The new society, becoming industrial and acquiring wealth, would soon have its criminal classes. We must leave the colonists to deal with them. The criminal laws of such a colony would be necessarily Draconian. The colonists would be in no temper to handle crime with soft gloves.

But the great point would be gained. Our criminal population, debarred from making war on society, would as a body be driven to industrial pursuits, and to the support of law and order as indispensable to their own well being—to their existence, in fact.

In a less favored climate, but in a climate with abundant natural resources and fitted to the development of a hardy and vigorous race, I see no reason to doubt that the proposal I have pointed out, if carried into action, would result in the rapid development of the natural resources of Alaska, and of a very considerable commerce between it and the United States.

The benefit would be only temporary. As the descendants of the early colonists rise in the industrial and social scale, they will protest against their country being made a dumping-ground for convicts. But the problems of to-day are for our solution; our children must solve the problems of the future, as they arise.

In a certain sense the measure here proposed may be regarded as experimental. It will not be disputed that self-interest is the mainspring of human conduct, and I think there is little reasonable ground to doubt that under the conditions I have prescribed the majority would range themselves on the side of law and order at the dictates of self interest. That the society would not be Utopian I am quite ready to believe. The criminal class would, perhaps, be large in comparison with the criminal classes of other States of the Union, and the general tone of the society low, but the great end would be achieved, a large criminal population now preying on society would be rendered self supporting.

One condition not yet touched on is indispensable to success. There must be some approach to equality of the sexes. The axiom that he who marries gives hostages to fortune would hold good here as elsewhere.

To make Alaska a convict settlement of the Tasmanian type, as has been recently proposed, would be a retrograde step. The costs of establishment and maintenance of such a settlement or settlements would be enormous; and, if we consider only the protection of society and the reformation of the criminal, the plea for the adoption of the proposal must rest on the assumption that a few years of slavery is a necessary preparation for free colonization.

This assumption is, of course, untenable. If the criminal classes are to be rendered industrial and law-abiding, it is only by environing them with conditions which render it evidently to their interest to be so. The proposal here outlined commends itself as humane and economic, and, if I have rightly indicated the mainspring of human action, it is no less scientific.

C. F. AMERY.

IV.

GENERAL POPE AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

IN the REVIEW for June, General John Pope calls attention to the fact that, at the close of our Civil War, which was calculated to bring to the front the great, heroic, predominating spirits of the time, the President and Vice-President, Chief Justice, all the cabinet officers, the Speaker of the House, the first and second generals of the victorious Union Army, and the Admiral of the Navy,—in short every prominent Government official, civil and military, were Western men; and the further fact that during the same period New England produced neither a great general nor a statesman of commanding influence. These facts are remarkable, but the conclusion drawn therefrom by General Pope is still more so. He suggests "with much diffidence," that the public school system may be looked to for a clue to "so strange a fact." The clue is, that uniformity in methods and sameness of books have a tendency to